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SPEECH
OF
HON. I. N. MORRIS, OF ILLINOIS,
ON
EXECUTIVE ABUSES,
AND
THE DUTY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 15, 1859.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—
Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I shall avail myself of the latitude allowed in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, to submit some remarks upon matters which pertain principally to the State I have the honor, in part, to represent upon this floor. Although, as is my custom, I shall use plain language; if I should utter a word or sentiment of a revengeful or unkind character, I shall regret it. My object is to present an unvarnished statement of facts; and if *they* should appear harsh, I beg gentlemen to remember that the Illinois Democracy have a right to speak in terms of merited condemnation of the wrongs and outrages which have been inflicted upon them by the present Administration. We have borne and forborne; but there is a point beyond which it would be a positive dereliction of duty to submit. That point, in my judgment, has been reached.

The policy inaugurated by the Executive and his Cabinet officials in proscribing every Democrat, particularly those of the honored State from which I hail, who would not violate their political faith, surrender their consciences, and the creed of the party as enunciated by the Cincinnati convention, at the command of power, and bow down and worship at the shrine of Lecomptonism, has been madly followed from the moment of its introduction to the present time. While a dispensation is freely granted to others, the work of proscription has been carried on in Illinois with a relentless ferocity heretofore unknown in the history of the country. Some of the most miserable and loathsome outcasts have become *secret informers*, and before they had the slightest intimation of what was to follow, the best men have been stricken down by the authorities here, without the slightest opportunity being afforded them of defence. So frequently has this been done that the moral sense of the nation has ceased to be shocked at the repetition of the offense, and it is now looked upon as a matter of course. The bloody knife is scarcely plucked from the heart of one prostrate and quivering victim, before it enters the bosom of another unconscious sacrifice. Blow after blow follows, in such rapid succession, that the crimson blade is never dry.

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This may truly and emphatically be said to be the reign of shame and terror in America; the re-enactment of the sedition law in all its terrific effect, if not upon the statute-book, at least at the White House, from whence decrees go forth as arbitrary and tyrannical as any that ever emanated from Caligula. Even in this city independence of thought and action is not tolerated; and Government officials and clerks, upon whom *black mail* was freely levied in order to raise a fund to overthrow the Democracy of Illinois, go about the streets subdued in their mein, afraid to utter a single word in opposition to the President's wishes or views, knowing that to do so would be a forfeiture of their places, which they cannot very well afford to lose, and be turned out upon the world, in these times, with nothing to do. If they dare whisper a sentiment of the heart, it is only in some private room, to a confidential friend who will not betray them. Spies track them from place to place, and, as is understood, report to headquarters what they may be able to hear or discover.

As proof that the black mail, to which I have alluded, was levied, I will mention a single fact. A committee of this city procured the printing of documents sustaining the President's Lecompton policy, which they supposed would operate against Judge Douglas, Major Harris, myself, and others, to the amount of thousands of dollars, and distributed them by wagon loads throughout Illinois, before the late election there. And when the printer wanted his pay, a certain high functionary, who has been rewarded with a foreign mission, applied to a Government official immediately connected with the Cabinet, to aid him in raising the money. This last mentioned gentleman coolly sat down at his desk, took up the Blue Book, assessed the whole amount upon the heads of bureaus and clerks, according to their respective salaries, and sent a collector around with a list of their names to collect the money; the understanding being, that whoever should refuse to pay, would be proscribed. Some did refuse; and the President's official organ at once denounced their conduct, and claimed it was their duty to submit to the assessment. One of the clerks from Illinois wrote an article denouncing the whole scheme as tyrannical and unjust. That article was published in a newspaper in this city, and the manuscript was stolen, or mysteriously disappeared from the printing office of that paper, and was carried around one of the Departments, that the handwriting might be recognized. When it was finally ascertained who the author was, it was immediately hinted to him that he had better resign, or he would be removed; and he did resign.

I state these facts, Mr. Chairman, upon the authority of one of the assessed victims; and if their truth is questioned, and the House will give me a committee to investigate the matter, I think I can prove them to the satisfaction of the country.

Such is the course pursued towards subordinates; and shall it go unrebuked? Is the Representative of the people to be subdued also? Is he to put his hand upon his mouth, and his mouth in the dust, and utter no note of alarm, and no word of condemnation? Is he also to bow down at the shrine of Executive dictation and exchange his manhood and independence for the smiles of power? If others do, for one I never will; so help me Heaven, I never will, come what may. If I stood alone in the breach, and knew I would be stricken down the next moment, I would oppose, with whatever ability God has endowed me, the proscriptions, encroachments, and usurpations of the Executive. For less offenses than he has committed Caesar lost his life, and Charles I. his crown and his head; for neither ever perpetrated so many acts of petty tyranny, or did so much to corrupt national morality—a crime, in my judgment, of the highest grade. Shall we stand, then, as poor, timorous mortals, before his advancing power, and suffer him to crush out every vestige of the nation's manhood, without raising the alarm or offering the least resistance? He has even ventured so far as to enter into a sovereign State, to control its local elections with the corrupting use of the patronage and money of the Government; a thing heretofore unknown in our political annals; thus, sir, aiming a blow at the freedom of election, and the purity of the ballot-box. Offices were virtually sold to those abandoned renegades who would go the furthest, and perform the most menial service, to crush out the party that had done so much to elect him. A reward was offered

for treason, and a few Judases were found willing to sell themselves for less than thirty pieces of silver; and they brought more than they were worth at that. These creatures, whose employment has been, and is to-day, to point out the doomed that they may reap the advantages of their fall, (I blush for my country when I say it,) are screened from the public view as far as possible, and their vile calumnies and communications are concealed in the archives of the Departments here, that they may go unwhipped of justice. This state of things, so outrageous, tyrannical, and violative of every principle of right, and more in consonance with the dark ages, than this free and enlightened Republic, should no longer be tolerated.

Sir, as it is evident that the course heretofore pursued is to be followed up still, and as neither the people of Illinois or their Representatives here are to have a voice in the regulation of their home matters, it is high time to give the President a Rowland for his Oliver—not in the way of revenge, but with a view of enabling the just and impartial to determine from the facts whether we have not been more sinned against than sinning. The motto of General Jackson, to ask nothing that was not right, and to submit to nothing wrong, is yet just and truthful, and as applicable now as the day that it was uttered. I shall, therefore, speak of things as they are, and will

“nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice.”

When at home engaged in my ordinary avocations, although I was somewhat familiar with public events, I never dreamed that my Government was guilty of concealing the evidence upon which a public officer was immolated; and the people everywhere will be surprised and startled to learn that such is the fact. It was reserved to me, when I reached this city as a Representative, and made myself as familiar with the working of things here as the limited opportunities afforded me would permit, to learn, for the first time, that our Executive Departments were Star Chambers instead of public offices. To say I was shocked upon receiving that information, would but illy express my feelings. I was mortified to know that the teachings and doctrines of the early fathers of the Government were disregarded, for they did ever act openly and in the face of day; and that the officials of the present time loved “darkness rather than light,” and perhaps “because their deeds are evil.”

Deeming it to be my duty to test the matter fully, and to drag the guilty from their covert, that they might be tried at the bar of public justice, upon receiving petitions with a request they should be laid before the Post Office Department, asking for the reinstatement of Jacob Parsons, Esq., or the appointment of some other good man as postmaster at Griggsville, Pike county—which I represent, with other counties of Illinois—I went to that Department, and asked the Hon. Horatio King, First Assistant Postmaster General, to permit me to look at the charges upon which Mr. Parsons was removed, and the recommendations upon which Mr. Robert Allen, a man totally unqualified for the place, was appointed his successor. His answer was: “I don’t know about that. If you are going to rip up things, I don’t know that we can let you see the papers.” I replied, “Very well, sir, all I want to know is that you refuse.” Mr. King then said: “I will see the Postmaster General on the subject, and let you know what he thinks about it.” I responded, “very well,” and then bade him good morning. Upon going to the House, it occurred to me that I should make application directly to the head of the Department, instead of to a subordinate. Consequently, I immediately addressed that functionary a note, a copy of which I send to the Clerk’s desk to be read.

The Clerk read, as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *December 17, 1858.*

SIR: I desire to know whether the privilege will be afforded me, on application, to examine all the papers on file in your Department, in relation to removals and appointments to office in Illinois; and if so, whether I shall be permitted to make copies of said papers, and a public or private use of the information I may thus obtain?

Your early reply will greatly oblige, yours respectfully,

I. N. MORRIS

Hon. A. V. BROWN, *Postmaster General.*

Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, after waiting for several days for a reply, and receiving none, I determined to make an application to the House for a call upon the Postmaster General, directing him to furnish the desired information. I was fortunate enough to obtain the floor upon the 22d of December last, and offered for adoption, the resolution which I send up to be read:

The Clerk read, as follows:

"Resolved, That the heads of the Executive Departments be, and they are hereby, respectfully requested to communicate to this House the following information, as far as they may be in possession of the same in their respective Departments.

"1. The names of all persons removed from office in the State of Illinois, since the commencement of the first session of the present Congress, and the salaries paid respectively to each.

"2. The names of the persons appointed to office in said State of Illinois since the meeting of the present Congress.

"3. A copy of all petitions, letters, remonstrances, and other papers, upon which said removals and appointments were made, now on file, or which may have been on file, in their respective Departments."

Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois. Before the reading of that resolution was half finished, I was surprised to find some members springing to their feet and saluting our ears with the familiar words, "I object," "I object." What there was, or is, in the resolution to object to, I was then, and still am, at a loss to determine. It is certainly respectful in its language, censures no one, and only calls for information touching public matters in Illinois of which the people of that State have a right to be in possession. Yet I was not even allowed to have it voted on, for it was offered on a day when I could not move to suspend the rules; and one solitary objection excluded it.

Since that time, now more than a month and a half, on every Monday, I have earnestly and perseveringly sought to bring it before the House, that I might test the question as to the propriety of its passage, on a motion to suspend the rules; but I have never been sufficiently fortunate to get the recognition of the Speaker. Despairing of doing so, I take this means of presenting it to the country, together with the facts, so that every man may judge for himself the propriety of suppressing it. Gentlemen seemed to be startled and alarmed, for fear that something might be brought to light which would not be agreeable to the *refined* and *delicate* sensibilities of the Administration, and threw themselves into the breach to prevent the exposure; and, for the time being, they have, in a measure, succeeded. But the day will come when the record, unless destroyed, will speak for itself. The time will come when the facts will be known, and the guilty have to plead to the indictment. Justice, although sometimes tardy, is always sure. No great wrong can be inflicted on any considerable portion of the citizens of this country, without certain retribution following.

Sir, on the evening of the day I offered the resolution referred to, I returned to my residence, and found Mr. King awaiting my arrival. An interview ensued between us, in which he informed me that I could read the papers in the Department, but that it was against the rule to allow copies to be taken. He further said that I would only be permitted to see them "confidentially," and that I would not be at liberty to make any public use of the information I might thus acquire. I replied that I did not desire to see them on such terms; that it would be of no use to me to know the facts unless I was allowed to communicate them to those most interested. Consequently I never have seen them to this day. Mr. King appeared very solicitous that I should be satisfied with his verbal response, and not require an answer in writing. On this point I was unyielding, and the result was that I received the answer which I now ask to be read.

The letter was read, as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, APPOINTMENT OFFICE, December 27, 1858.

SIR: The Postmaster General duly received your letter of the 17th instant, and referred it to this office for reply, the business to which it relates belonging to this branch of the Department.

You ask to know whether the privilege will be afforded you, on application, to examine all the papers on file in this Department in relation to removals and appointments to office in Illinois; and if so, whether you will be permitted to make copies of said papers, and a public or private use of the information thus obtained?

I would have answered earlier, as you are aware, but that I was desirous of seeing and communicating to you verbally, which I could much easier do than by writing, the reasons at length why your request could not consistently be granted. Having been favored with this opportunity, and learning from you that you nevertheless desire a written answer, I now have the honor to inform you that, while the same facilities heretofore extended to you of examining any and all papers on file relating to post offices, &c., in your district, will be cheerfully granted to you, the permission to take copies is respectfully declined as contrary to a long-established and salutary rule of this Department, the reasons for which have been verbally explained to you, and are too well known to require to be repeated here.

By this, therefore, you will understand that, although the Postmaster General is unwilling to relax any of the regulations of the Department, every facility and attention enjoyed by other members of Congress, will, in like manner, under the rules, be extended to you.

When permission is given to examine papers, it is always under the express or implied understanding that the sole purpose of the inspection is either to assist the Department in promoting and improving the service, or to enable the latter to avoid the employment of dishonest agents, postmasters, &c. In this way the rules themselves, as well as the relaxation of them, are made to advance the welfare of the public and the good of the service.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

HORATIO KING,
First Assistant Postmaster General.

Hon. I. N. MORRIS, *House of Representatives.*

Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois. It will be seen that that reply, although as adroitly and carefully drawn as a special plea, is, in substance, the same as the one the writer gave to me in person, and proves, beyond all cavil or doubt, that the Departments here conceal from the public the charges upon which a man is tried, convicted, and removed. Without his having the slightest opportunity of confronting his accusers, or repelling their accusations, his head rolls from the block. And this conduct is to be dignified by the high character of the Executioners! The doctrine is practically promulgated that "the King can do no wrong;" or, in other words, that the Executive Departments are not to be held responsible to the people for their acts.

Take the case of Mr. Parsons, and let us see how it looks. He is an elderly gentleman, of the highest standing and of the purest integrity and morality. At home not even a suspicion was ever cast upon his reputation. For many years he held the office of deputy postmaster at Griggsville; and although a firm and consistent Democrat, he gave universal satisfaction to all parties by the prompt and impartial manner in which he discharged the duties of the place. But neither his gray locks, his long experience, his undoubted qualifications, the confidence reposed in him by his neighbors, nor their general desire to have him remain in office, could save him from the proscriptive knife. A man who has not the slightest qualification for the position succeeded him. Nobody there knows how. Nobody wanted him. Yet that made no difference. But the worst of it all was that the Government committed a larceny on the reputation of Mr. Parsons. They sought to deprive him of his good name by creating a suspicion that he had been unfaithful to his trust. When he asked, through me, as his Representative, when his friends asked, what he had done to cause his removal, I am told, they are told, "we cannot make that public." What was his offense? Who are his accusers? What are the charges filed against him? The same response, Mr. Chairman, comes back: "We cannot make that public."

Thus he has not only been deprived of the little office which afforded him in his old age a scanty living, but he is left with unholy imputations clustering about his integrity, as far, at least, as the act of removal could effect the object. The highwayman will take your purse, but will spare your character. Both were sought to be taken from Mr. Parsons. With a view to his vindication and as a measure for the promotion of the public interest, more than one hundred and sixty citizens residing in Griggsville and vicinity forwarded petitions asking for his restoration, and setting forth the total disqualification of Allen. These petitions I filed in the General Post Office Department on the 13th of December last. They remained there till the 22d day of the next month, when I became fully satisfied that no attention would be paid to them, and then withdrew them.

Now, I ask that they be read that they may go out before the public as a part of the case; I present them, to be judged of in connection with it.

The Clerk read, as follows:

To the Honorable Postmaster General:

We, the undersigned citizens of Griggsville and vicinity, do respectfully represent, that we consider the removal of Jacob Parsons, postmaster of said town, and the appointment of Robert Allen in his stead, without, in any way, consulting the people, as being impolitic, and a great detriment both to the citizens and to the Department.

Mr. Allen, the appointee, is entirely unfitted by previous education and business habits, to perform the duties of the office, and had the citizens of the town been consulted, could not have gotten any one to recommend him as a suitable man.

We, therefore, request the Postmaster General to reconsider the matter, and appoint some man capable of performing the duties of the office. We would also respectfully recommend the reappointment of Mr. Parsons, but should it be thought inexpedient so to do, would suggest and recommend that George F. Dickinson, who, for four years, has performed the active duties of the office, be appointed. That he is fully competent, the quarterly returns from this office will show; he is gentlemanly and courteous in his manners, and we think his appointment will give general satisfaction.

We make this appeal through no ill-feeling toward Mr. Allen personally, nor from any political motives whatever—we being of all parties; but simply and solely from a desire to see the office competently filled, and for our own benefit and convenience, and the good of the Department. We therefore earnestly hope that the Postmaster General will take this request into consideration, and make the desired change.

C. GIBBS,
CHESLEY McLAIN,
PETER WELLS,
JAMES O'NEIL,
J. R. STONE,
JESSE PARKE,
JOSEPH HARVEY,
F. A. PELLETIER,
C. W. GOLDMAN,
URIAH TAYLOR,
GIDEON CADWELL,
F. CADWELL,
J. W. PASTORS,
GOODWIN BROOKS,
ISAAC DAVISON,
ROBERT DAVISON,
SAMUEL SHINN,
WILLIAM G. BLACK,
J. H. JONES,
G. H. LOMBARD,
A. NEWMAN,
T. KNEELAND,
HENRY FESLER,
NATHAN'L FESLER,
T. C. COFFEY,
DENNIS CARNES,
ISAAC BARNETT,
WM. MARSHALL,
GEORGE BRINGLE,
HENRY SHAFFNER,
JAMES HEWELL,
JOHNSON WEST,
WM. URGET,
J. DUGALD BLUE,
A. DONOVAN,
W. DONOVAN,
G. B. HINMAN,
E. S. LOVETTE,
HARVEY ELLEDGE,
J. S. WORDS,
WM. GREER,
J. B. SHINN,
G. W. FURNHAM,
A. STARNE,
ENOS TARK,
ROBERT LAUGH,
PATRICK WHELAN,
J. L. EMORY,
THOMAS P. COBBY,
W. K. BRADBERRY,
WM. SHAW, SR.,
D. W. COPELAND,

ALEX'R TAYLOR,
H. A. CRAIG,
JOHN McLAUGHLIN,
ANDREW PHILLIPS,
J. M. PHILLIPS,
F. J. PHILLIPS,
GEORGE MILLAM,
JOHN YOUETT,
E. T. ARMSTONG,
G. W. WARRICK,
L. T. FALES,
E. L. ROSE,
OTIS PARSONS,
THOMAS CARDON,
OSCAR BENTLEY,
W. H. WINSOR,
B. BROOKS,
ANDERSON MAGEE,
GEORGE WILSON,
J. U. KELLENBERGER,
THOMAS SIMPKINS,
JOHN WARTONS,
FRANCIS FESLER,
DANIEL GOULD,
JOHN SHINN, JR.,
JOHN GEORGE,
J. L. THOMPSON,
CHARLES STIPE,
J. B. STODDARD,
G. W. GLADWELL,
LEROY HILL,
WM. THARKURAY,
T. CADWELL,
H. CARMER,
L. W. DIX,
W. H. H. BATTLES,
J. M. CRANDALL,
JAMES BRAKEFIELD,
JAMES A. HOWARD,
D. BYRNE,
M. ANTNEY,
A. HOLT,
P. B. BRAINERD,
WM. REYNOLDS,
W. L. HOUSTON,
JAMES LIGHTLE,
WH. H. GORBET,
GEORGE DOODY,
COLLINS PARK,
R. A. MORTON,
J. M. HIGGINS,
WM. TURNBULL,

JNO. K. BASHFORTH,
T. H. DIMMUTT,
JAMES WARD,
C. H. WEAGLEY,
JOHN HOUSTON,
F. W. DICKINSON,
HENRY CLAPP,
J. H. ALLEN,
EBN'R MAY,
JOHN S. SHINN,
WM. MARGHAR,
P. SHINN,
ASABEL HINMAN,
JAMES R. OWEN,
J. BICKERDIKE, JR.,
A. WELLS,
C. H. MANKER,
P. M. ROUSH,
PATRICK RILEY,
D. A. FAGIN,
F. T. M. DUTCHER,
W. W. HIGBEE,
N. ELLIOTT,
PETER FRY, JR.,
THOMAS RADBURY,
BENJAMIN BATES,
THOMAS CARNES,
WM. DUNHAM,
T. WILSON,
WILLIAM SHIN,
G. YATES,
T. STAGG,
J. GOULDIN,
S. GOULDIN,
J. COOPER,
BENJ. BECKFORD,
GEORGE EVANS,
ROBERT J. WALKER,
DAVID S. CRAPTON,
JOSEPH J. WILSON,
RICHARD WADE,
JOHN MORGAN,
WALKER SLIGHT,
STEPHEN WHITE,
WILLIAM WILSON,
WILLIAM STAATS,
FRED. GARROTI,
E. L. STAATS,
JOHN LARBERG,
JAMES BROWN,
JOHN DENMIT,
BERCH DENMIT

We could get any amount of names if necessary.

Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois. Here is another, and one of the names signed to it is that of Mr. Starne, formerly Democratic Secretary of State of Illinois, a gentleman of as high standing as any in the State.

The Clerk read, as follows:

GRIGGSVILLE, November, 23, 1858.

To the Hon. A. V. BROWN, *Postmaster General*:

We, the undersigned, citizens of Griggsville, Pike county, Illinois, would respectfully represent that we are members of the Democratic party, and that we labored, in our humble way, for James Buchanan, in 1856; and we do enter our protest against the appointment of Robert Allen as postmaster for the town of Griggsville: first, because he is not qualified to fill the office; second, because he has never been a reliable Democrat; third, because he has been co-operating with the Black Republicans; fourth, his deputies are all Black Republicans.

For the above reasons, we think that a Democratic Administration ought not to hesitate a moment, but remove him forthwith.

OTIS PARSONS,

J. H. ALLEN,

C. F. GIBBS,

L. T. FALES,

ALEXANDER STARNE,

GEORGE F. DICKINSON,

JOHN K. BASHFORTH,

JAMES WARD,

J. P. WEAZLY.

We could get any amount of names, but deem it unnecessary.

Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois. Take another case: influential and prominent Democrats of Blandinsville, in the county of McDonough, which I also have the honor to represent, asked for the appointment of Mr. Jones—a gentleman whom I know very well, and who has been a life-long Democrat, and is well qualified—to the office of postmaster of that thriving and beautiful village. Their request was not only disregarded, but spurned, and a Mr. Delevan Martin had a commission forwarded him. This individual was voted for by the Administration party of the county in which he lives as a candidate for the Legislature at the late election; and, although three thousand seven hundred and twenty votes were given, nineteen hundred and fifty-two of which were Democratic, he received the *enormous* number of *five*. Not a man in the town or in the precinct in which he lives voted for him, and not a Democrat there wanted him as postmaster; yet he was appointed, in total disregard of the wishes of the people. Mr. Martin lives in the Blandinsville precinct; and, to show the fact to which I refer, I will request to have read the certificate of the county clerk.

The Clerk read, as follows:

STATE OF ILLINOIS, McDONOUGH COUNTY—&&

I, Isaac Grantham, clerk of the county court of said county, do hereby certify that at a general election held in said county on Tuesday, the 2d day of November, A. D. 1858, Delavan Martin received five votes for Representative to the Legislature of the State of Illinois, as follows, to wit: in Prairie City precinct he received one vote; in Macomb precinct he received three votes; and in Hire precinct he received one vote, as the same appears of record in my office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of said court, at my office in Macomb, this 1st day of January, A. D. 1859.

ISAAC GRANTHAM, *Clerk*.

[L. S.]

By JAMES W. MATTHEWS, *Deputy*.

Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois. I will, Mr. Chairman, mention one other instance. In the city in which I reside, containing a population of near twenty thousand inhabitants, Captain A. Brooks was removed from the office of postmaster, and another appointed in his place. The Democratic party immediately took Mr. Brooks up for the State Senate, and the Administration party ran the new postmaster, who had the influence of a party nomination in his favor. The former gentleman was triumphantly elected, while the latter received in the whole district, including the city of his residence, the *large number* of about seventy-two votes; while the two other candidates received more than eight thousand. I give these numbers from recollection, and may not have them exactly right; but they are substantially so.

I might go on multiplying such instances of disregard of the public choice and interest, but I will not detain the Committee with their rehearsal. Those I have named are only representatives of a whole class of cases in the State; indeed they present more favorable palliations than many others. In some instances, where none could be found in the vicinity willing to degrade themselves below the contempt of the people and accept positions where they were not wanted, men have been imported from abroad to take them; and I regret to be

under the necessity of adding, that some of them did not bring very good moral characters with them. If a mail robbery should be committed, there are men employed in the service in Illinois who would at once be suspected. The appointments commenced last winter by selecting, for one of the highest positions in the State, a man who was notoriously a public defaulter, and was shown to be such by the records here—a man wholly destitute of every qualification for the office, and who deserved a prison rather than official position. I regret to add that, since then, too many of this class of persons have been promoted; too many of these camp followers, who were required to make war upon the men and organization of the party, and who did it with a heartless ferocity and an unscrupulous disregard for truth or decency. Willing to sell their independence for a mess of pottage, they supposed that others would dispose of the birthright of freemen as cheaply as themselves.

It is very easy for those who have no character to lose, to assume, with the boldness of ignorance, that others are as corrupt as themselves; and this class of venal men in Illinois, to whom I am alluding, stood in the public highways, with their rasps in their hands, to rasp off a few spoonsful from the conscience of every man who encountered their polluting touch, and from the reputations of all who fled from them as from a moral contagion.

The whole patronage and power of the Government was placed in their hands for disposal, superadded to the corrupting appliances of money, in order to strike down the brave chieftain of a heroic party, and with him, that party itself. I have in my possession records pertaining to some of these men, showing them to be the most abandoned wretches that ever lived, but I will not use them now; hereafter I may. But what, says some gentleman, of all this? Had not the President a legal right to remove and to appoint whomsoever he pleased? Grant that he had the legal right: does it follow he had a *moral* right to do it? The appointing power was conferred upon him to be exercised with a sound discretion for the public benefit, and not for the purpose of gratifying personal malice at the expense of the public interest. He holds it *in trust* for the people for whose benefit the offices were created, and not as an absolute dictatorial power, to be exercised without reference to their wishes.

The views and feelings of the public should be consulted, and not trampled upon. Yet, in the instances I have presented, and many others, not the slightest attention has been paid to them. They are treated as though they were aliens and serfs in their own Government, having no rights in it. When they petition for a redress of grievances, they are spurned as indignantly away as were our fathers when they petitioned the British throne. The President tells you, by his acts, that he has the power to fill the offices; that it is none of your concern whom he puts in them; that he will exercise his authority as he pleases. And this is said by a man claiming to be a Democrat, to a Democratic constituency! I stand here, Mr. Chairman, to brand with shame such outrages upon the doctrines and usages of the party. They are in violation of public rights, and form no part of the Democratic creed, and will be everywhere condemned. They are flagrant, daring, and shameless innovations, which must be stayed, or they will sap the foundation of our republican institutions.

The question was asked me a thousand times, at home, how I accounted for the course of the President? I confess that his conduct has been so singular, so extraordinary, so distinctly marked by every act which can "define a tyrant," that I did not know what response to make. "Is he governed by malignity or by imbecility?" the people everywhere inquired. It may be answered that both have had an agency in controlling his action. His advanced age, aided by his aristocratic character and intense hatred of Judge DOUGLAS, has led him to gratify that hatred, and to sacrifice every interest of his administration, until it has sunk, in the esteem of the country, below the point of resurrection. Suppose he does dislike the Senator from Illinois: is that any sufficient justification of his course? Should he carry his hatred so far as to strike at the people?

What injury have the Democracy of my State done him, that he should set his servile creatures upon the trail of every postmaster and other public officer

there? It is true, they were in favor of the reelection of Judge DOUGLAS; it is true, the delegation in Congress voted against forcing Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution; it is true, we voted against the bill known by the name of the English bill, which was gotten up by several gentlemen who had no very good right to prescribe a new party creed, when Lecompton, pure and naked, was voted down. But should such things, right as they are in themselves, and past as they are as issues, form a justification of his conduct? Not only the Lecompton, but every other policy of his administration has failed. His measures are but the sport and derision of Congress, and his very recommendation of them is a presage of their defeat. He has few or no friends here. Members turn away from him, yet no test is made except upon the Lecompton question. Judge DOUGLAS and his friends are involved in that, and they are hunted down still. At the last session of Congress he could not have effected the passage of some of the most important appropriation bills, if it had not been for my own vote and the votes of other anti-Lecompton Democrats; and this session, I fear he will not be able to get them passed even with our assistance. The poisoned chalice has returned to his own lips; and he is reaping the storms of the whirlwinds he sowed. His reckless attempts to interpolate the Democratic platform, and to prescribe new tests of party fealty, and his unwarrantable interference with the local politics of the country, will be milestones placed along the road of other Presidents, to warn them against the fatal rock upon which his administration was broken to pieces.

It was said by a distinguished Kentuckian that the administration of John Tyler would be, in the history of this country, like a parenthesis in the middle of a sentence, always to be read in a low tone of voice, and which could be omitted without altering the sense. That much cannot be said of Mr. Buchanan's Administration. It does not even rise to the dignity of a parenthesis, but will be regarded as an entire inverted sentence, with scarcely an intonation in its length or breadth to soften its harshness.

But, Mr. Chairman, the Administration did not stop with the mere distribution of documents, and the sale of the offices, in my State. I saw the imprint of its finger in my district, here and there, wherever I went. One, who was a judge upon the supreme bench, resigned his office, in order that he might receive the nomination over me. After he had been in Washington conferring with the officials here, he returned home, took the stump, and labored unceasingly to defeat myself, and every other regularly-nominated candidate. A State Senator, for changing his position from anti-Lecompton to Lecompton, was given the Quincy post office, and was supplied with the means of publishing a paper to overthrow the regular Democratic ticket. My immediate predecessor upon this floor was induced to run as an independent candidate, in order that my Republican competitor might be elected, and he received only five hundred and four votes out of twenty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-one cast, while my majority was one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one—considerably greater than it was in 1856. What is true of the district I represent is substantially true of every other district in Illinois. Everywhere, all over the State, men were at work, under directions from Washington, to break down the regular organization, and to elect Republicans. They left no stone unturned to effect their object; and yet, out of two hundred and fifty-two thousand two hundred and two votes given in the whole State, the highest cast for a Lecompton Administration candidate was just five thousand one hundred and seventy-three! Cabinet officials interfered directly in the contest, and did not leave the work to their subordinates.

I will read a paragraph or two from a letter addressed by a member of the Cabinet to a Federal office-holder in the State, during the pendency of the late election, and if the Administration desire the name of its author, and will call upon me, they shall have it, and I will account for the possession of it. Speaking of those he calls "Douglas men," he says:

"Those of them who are willing to give a fair support to the Administration, and regard the English bill as a settlement, ought to be conciliated, treated kindly, and supported. But, if nothing else will serve their turn except opposition to the party, it cannot be helped.

"They say here, that Mr. Harris is more violent and bitter in his hostility to the Administration, and to all who support it, than any Black Republican in Congress.

"Now, what should be the difference to us between such a man and an Abolitionist, except that such a man, elected by Democratic votes, would do more injury to the Democratic cause, than an Abolitionist would have it in his power to do. Most truly yours," &c.

The gentleman to whom that letter was addressed, was afterwards removed from his position because he would not abuse his friends, and assist to defeat the party of which he has been all his life a brilliant, talented, and active member. The one who succeeded him is now arraigned before the Administration, by a gentleman, for official villany of the highest grade. Whether he will be removed remains to be determined. I have no expectation, Mr. Chairman, that he will, no matter what his offense may be, so he sings peans to the powers at Washington. The extracts which I have given, will be read by honest Democrats at home with profound astonishment. To persons here, who are familiar with the manner in which things are done, they will be no matter of surprise.

It will be observed that the author of that letter lays down two tests of Democratic orthodoxy, which if lived up to will entitle the believer to a place in the Democratic church; if not, he must be cast out. The first is submission to the Administration. The second, support of the English bill. There is nothing in the letter about the Cincinnati platform, and nothing about the Democratic creed as we received it from the fathers of the party. It seeks to establish an entirely new test. Verily, we have fallen on strange times! Party edicts seem to go out from the White House as though the President was his Imperial Majesty James I. Sir, who gave him, who gave his Cabinet, authority to send out to Illinois these excommunicating bulls? If they would attend to the legitimate functions of their offices, they would do much better. For one, sir, I do not recognize the right of any but the party itself, to alter its platform. I spurn the dictation of all intermeddlers; and I say, in frankness, that if the English bill, which I view with abhorrence, is to be made a party test, I will not give it my assent. I would infinitely have preferred to vote for the original Lecompton bill, as it came from the Senate, for that had the comparative merit of frankness.

But, sir, we were told by the considerate Cabinet official that if we would submit to the new test we should be "conciliated, treated kindly, and supported." *Ergo*, the converse was, that if we did not submit we were not to be "conciliated, treated kindly, or supported." Inasmuch as the Democracy of Illinois did not submit, they had meted out to them the full measure of Executive wrath. My former colleague, the late lamented Thomas L. Harris, at the bare mention of whose name a million of brave and warm Democratic hearts leap with joy, is denounced by this member of the Cabinet as "worse than an Abolitionist," and of course, all who agreed with him are "worse than Abolitionists," in the view of the new dictators of the party faith. The harpies of the National Democracy of Illinois, alias Danites, were instructed rather than vote for Judge DOUGLAS, myself, or any other anti-Lecompton Democrat, they had better vote for "Black Republicans." This is the substance of this Cabinet officer's letter; and poor souls, they only wanted a nod from their masters here, to obey, as I will show you by the confession of their leading organ in the State, the "Chicago Herald." In its issue of the 4th of November last, two days after the election, that paper contains an editorial article which I will read. Here it is, and mark it well:

"THE VOTE OF CHICAGO.—That fact having become known on the eve of the election, that the entire Catholic vote of this city, notwithstanding the professions to the contrary, would be thrown for Douglas, the national Democrats became exasperated at such wholesale treachery, and despite all efforts that could be made to prevent it, they voted *en masse* for the Republican candidates, as the most effectual way of defeating Douglas. Although by voting thus, they, beyond question, prevented the election of two of the Douglas candidates for the Legislature, we do not approve of their course. We go for a strict adherence to the principle, and to party organization, whatever may be the present result, fully believing that such a course will, in all cases, insure ultimate success."

The author of that article, who is the editor of the paper, was appointed by the President marshal of the northern district of Illinois, during the pendency of the election, in place of Colonel Davidson, removed, after he had the most positive assurance that he would be retained. The admission that the miscalled

"National Democrats" voted for the Republican candidates for the Legislature, and thereby defeated two "Douglas Democrats," is broad and unqualified. The reason assigned is that the Catholics would not vote with them! What ridiculous folly! The reason was they were instructed from Washington to do as they did. The editor pretends to disapprove the acts of his Danite brethren, and talks of principle and party as though he was governed by one or acted inside of the other.

Mr. Chairman, since the election, these vampires have fallen out amongst themselves, over a division of the spoils; and if one-tenth of what they tell upon each other is true, they are the most graceless set of scamps upon earth. The people of Illinois believe all that is said on both sides, and even then, that half has not been told. In speaking of the Danites, I do not wish to be understood as including all who sustained the Administration in its policy, for some were honest, and pursued the course they did conscientiously; but through what I believe was a misapprehension of the merits of the controversy on their part.

I allude to the place-seekers, the liegemen, who acted without reference to principle, and were actuated alone by corrupt motives. They constituted a band of political spoilsmen, who were on the exchange for the highest price they could get for themselves. They flattered the President, and he encouraged their treason. He is, therefore, not only directly responsible for their appointment, but for their conduct, and he cannot escape that responsibility. He may denounce as he will corruptions in elections of which he was *particeps criminis*; but lachrymose letters, like that he wrote to the Fort Du Quesne celebration, will do him no good. Singing psalms will not save him now, sir. He has already sinned away his day of grace, and all hope for him has become extinct. The Democratic party must cut itself loose from his administration, and let it float off as drift-wood. We cannot go into the canvass of 1860 with any hope of success, with its fetid and rotten carcass tied to the party; it would be hanging to it as dead weight. We might as well expect to blow down the walls of this Capitol with our mere breath. It has even fallen so low that those who live upon its bounty do it no reverence. We may excuse it; we may palliate it; we may patch it up as we please; but it will be all to no purpose. It is folly—nay, worse than folly, it is madness for us to stand with folded arms, and blinded to the consequences which are inevitable if we adhere to it. "A prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself; but the simple pass on and are punished." We cannot retrieve the fortunes of the party by any hesitating, doubting policy. Action, prompt and decisive, is required. Mr. Buchanan who certainly let out "that drop" of Democratic blood, if it was ever in his veins, is floating the Government into the old moorings of Federalism, from which it is now evident his affections have never departed. We have been deceived; and the sooner we acknowledge the fact the better. An open confession is preferable to a vain attempt at concealment. If we go on and cry "peace, peace, when there is no peace," defeat, certain and inevitable, will be our lot.

Let Mr. Buchanan, during the remainder of his term, devote his time to gathering up the bleaching bones of his fallen friends, which are strewn upon every political battle-field of the North, East, and West. Let him breath into them a little brief spasmodic life; but let the great Democratic party move on in defence of its integrity and great principles. Let it repudiate the man who has repudiated it. What is there in his Administration which gentlemen will undertake to defend? Who is there in this or the other Hall of Congress who will rise and proclaim that his Kansas policy was wise, when, like Dead sea fruits, it has turned to ashes on his lips? Who will defend the improvident and ill-managed Utah war, commenced without sufficient authority of law, and ending in nothing but folly after squandering millions of dollars? Who dare vindicate the extravagant and reckless expenditures of his Administration, and ridicule economy but the writer for his official organ? His Cabinet has disappointed the hopes of the country. His appointments, as a class, have been the worst, by far, that were ever before made, to say nothing of the appointees at large having been selected principally from two or three States, to the exclusion of the balance, and without regard to their claims. His Administration has fallen a prey to flatterers and public plunderers. His bankrupt policy finds no

advocates. His Pacific railroad scheme is defeated. His Paraguay expedition promises nothing but disaster, and proves we did wrong to intrust him with the power, though some suppose the fight between him and Lopez affords an equal chance of success, as it is generally believed they are well matched, except that Lopez possesses superior military qualifications. He publicly recommended in his message, the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and then privately labored to prevent Congress from expressing an opinion in favor of that recommendation. A professed disciple of the Monroe doctrine, he stands with folded arms, and does nothing efficiently to prevent European interference with the affairs of this continent. His efforts to enforce the neutrality laws are everywhere regarded as failures. His proposition to establish a Protectorate over Mexico is treated with indifference, if not contempt. His plan of increasing the regular Army Congress at once put down. His ill-advised attempt to defeat the Democracy of Illinois, who so nobly sustained him in 1856, was signally rebuked. He has an organ without a responsible editor; an Administration without a party, power without respect; and to crown all, a Secretary of the Treasury who tells him to his teeth that his fiscal policy is wrong, and yet both retain their places! Strange anomaly! He came into the presidential chair pledged to *ad valorem* duties, and now recommends specifics, and has embroiled the party which elected him in almost interminable difficulties upon that subject. He found us peaceful, contented and buoyant with hope; and, in less than two short years, brings broils out of quiet, excitement and angry controversy out of contentment, and despair out of joy. He has desecrated the social circle with political feeling; tainted the simplicity of republican manners with the airs of a foreign court; corrupted the national morality by an improper disposal of the public patronage, and the selection of appointees to office without reference to their moral characters; given unlimited range to his passions and prejudices, and sees no merit in any one who was not originally for his nomination. In his letter accepting the nomination of the Cincinnati Convention, he said, speaking of the Kansas-Nebraska bill:

"This legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as free government itself; and, in accordance with them, has simply declared that the people of a Territory, *like those of a State*, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall, or shall not, exist within their limits. This principle will surely not be controverted by any individual, of any party professing devotion to popular government."

In his message transmitting the Lecompton constitution, delivered at the last session, he tells us that "Kansas is, therefore, at this moment, as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina," notwithstanding slavery has never been established there by law, and the people are opposed to it. No torturing he can apply to the decision of the Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, can reconcile these conflicting positions. We learn that he has granted an amnesty to Brigham Young and other Mormons, and has sought to prevent the execution of the laws in Utah, and not to enforce them; and thus to strike down the independence of the judiciary, and bring it into subjection to his will, as he sought, at the last session, to subdue Congress by an executive fiat. He is the Jonah that troubles the ship, and has sought to tear to pieces the platform of principles upon which he was elected; to strike down the great doctrine of self-government and popular liberty, and substitute his will for that of the people. His conservatism has proved radicalism. On the slavery question he is sectional with the extremest of the South; on the tariff, with the North. He has violated, as the head of the nation, national courtesy; and then his Representative, honorable J. Glancy Jones, in the House, indelicately accused members of opposing an appropriation from which he was to reap pleasure, if not benefit, because they were not invited to his table to dine. Shame, where was thy blush! He has shown no administrative ability; but has used the power conferred on him to gratify personal feeling, and not in the spirit of a public trust. And in the name of the Democracy I impeach him, as one of its Representatives, for these high crimes and misdemeanors. I impeach him, in the name of our common country, for the common wrongs and injuries he has inflicted upon it. Discovering too late his fatal course, he is now seeking to embroil the nation in foreign troubles with the view of diverting attention from the failures

of his home measures, and making some grand and signal demonstration. He asks us to place \$30,000,000 in his hands to negotiate for the purchase of Cuba. While I should like for our Government to possess that island, I am unwilling to intrust so important a matter to his discretion. After the evidence he has given us of his financial ability, I am satisfied, in my own judgment, that he would use up the money, and that we would then be further off from the acquisition of Cuba than we are now. Nothing of importance he has recommended has succeeded, and it is high time that the Democratic organization had calculated its reckoning, and taken a new departure. His administration is not the party, and the distinction must be broadly marked and kept up. The old Democratic ship "Union," the ark which has so long borne up the covenant of these States is imperiled, and ho! all hands aboard! and we may yet rescue her from the breakers upon which she is beating. If we stretch ourselves out lazily upon the bank, and manifest a serene indifference, or reckless disregard of consequences, she will be dashed to pieces within sight of the shore, and for the want of the assistance we can render. If, however, we select the right man for a commander, one who has great qualities; and not one for his supposed availability, (we have had enough of that in all conscience,) inscribe our old principles upon our flag, and turn away from this administration, as we would from the Angel of Death, she will ride safely into port, a little strained, it may be, by the tempest, but well fitted to perform many other voyages. But if we make a misstep, we may proclaim as much as we please to the troubled waters, "peace, be still," and they will rage and roar on, and soon close over the vessel; then we shall be a drift upon the boundless ocean of uncertainty, with not a plank or splinter to hold us above the surging billows.

But, Mr. Chairman, I will again recur to appointments. It is held correct by the Democratic party that Federal officeholders should not interfere with the freedom of elections; not that they should not vote or express their opinions, but that they are thought to be out of their line of duty to use their official positions to control the ballot-box. Now, it seems to be made a condition precedent of their appointments, that they should do but little else than control it. In my own State I have seen too many and painful instances of this not to rebuke it in terms of merited condemnation. Federal officials and employes there and elsewhere were marshaled for the conflict, under the command of some leader dictated at Washington. If any held back; if any indicated a repugnance to the duty required, they were at once disposed of as deserters. Perhaps, however, this is the least objectionable part of the conduct of the Administration.

At the last session, the President kept back the nominations of appointees from the Senate, especially those in Illinois, until near the close of it; and he could have had no other reason for his conduct than a fixed and deliberate purpose of using his patronage to compel the expectants and their friends to assist in forcing the Lecompton constitution, which Senator HAMMOND now admits was brought into Congress reeking with "blood and fraud," down the throats of the people of Kansas. At the present session he pursued quite a different course. At the commencement of it, and during Judge DOUGLAS's temporary absence, he sent in to the Senate the nominations for Illinois, of appointments made during the recess of Congress in place of those removed; thus depriving Judge DOUGLAS of offering reasons why they should be rejected. This conduct speaks for itself, and will cling to the President as a leprous spot upon his reputation, which time will never efface. The character of a manœuverer, added to that of a tyrant, dishonors the man, while the country mourns the fall. At the last session, when he was striking at public liberty and crushing out northern manhood, I stated in this House that the Executive was surrounded by flatterers, and that no man had told him the truth. At this session I am constrained to tell the truth on him. This duty, however, has been no pleasant one to me. I would, to God, for his sake and the sake of our national character, I had been spared the painful necessity. When forced upon me, I have not felt at liberty, however, to shirk the responsibility. It seemed to me meet that an Illinois Democrat should sketch the scenes of his unfortunate administration.

One feature, Mr. Chairman, of the Kansas imbroglio has struck me as a little

singular. The President first makes the Lecompton constitution a test of Democratic orthodoxy. Secondly, he makes the conference bill. His friends in the East, North, and West, go home, and in the canvass tell the people they did not mean anything when they gave their votes for a measure excluding Kansas from the Union until she had a population sufficient to entitle her to a Representative in Congress, the fact "to be ascertained by a census duly and legally taken;" and that if they were reëlected they would vote for her admission at any time she applied; while the President, in his late message, still insists she must be kept out. By the force of this pledge a few succeeded, while the great majority of them fell in the battles. But even this is not all. Some gentlemen started out fiercely against Lecompton, and afterwards went over to the President's policy, and certain results followed the new association. One case of the kind suggests itself to my mind, which I will briefly name.

The member from the Columbus district, in Ohio, (Mr. Cox,) made an early speech in this Hall, at the last session, against the Lecompton constitution, and was severely and bitterly denounced for it by the friends of that measure. Afterwards he supported the conference bill, and was taken back into full fellowship by the Administration. Soon after he submitted his remarks, his personal, bosom friend, a Mr. Miller, was removed from the office of deputy postmaster at Columbus, and Colonel Medary, who was then in Washington, abusing Mr. Cox and every anti-Lecompton Democrat, and the people of Kansas, in bitter terms, was appointed in his place. Subsequently to Mr. Cox's support of the conference bill, Colonel Medary is sent out as Governor of Kansas, to rule over a people he labored to oppress, and Mr. Miller, the friend of Mr. Cox, is put back in the post office at Columbus. I have no comment to make on these facts further than this: that no anti-Lecompton Democrat who stood firm and resisted the wrongs attempted on the people of Kansas has had a friend restored or received any favor from the President. The public, Mr. Chairman, can and will judge of such matters for themselves; and if they should come to the uncharitable conclusion that the member from Ohio, to whom I have referred, gave a practical illustration of the truth of the doctrine he advanced in his Cuban speech, that it was the physical law of our nature that the greater always absorbed the weaker power, and that it was right it should be so, I cannot help it, and he has no one to blame but himself.

But, Mr. Chairman, I have already trespassed too long upon your patience and that of the committee. I have said what I have upon my own responsibility, more in sorrow than anger, and from a deep sense of public duty and obligation to the Democracy of Illinois. I might say much in addition, but will refrain. Perhaps, after all, the Administration is to be pitied for its weakness, rather than censured for its crimes. One thing is certain: it has lost the respect and confidence of Congress and the country, and will expire

"Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

I expect, however, to see the Democratic party spring, phoenix-like, from its ashes. That party, sir, has been the hope of the Republic; and if it will only be true to itself, true to its integrity and its principles, this Union will continue, in a political sense, the star of Bethlehem to the down-trodden nations of the world; but if it should attempt a justification of this wicked and imbecile Administration, (a thing I do not anticipate,) I should fear the most disastrous result. Nothing is more common than for the people to repudiate public servants who have disappointed their just expectations; and the President is not invested with that regal power which should make him an exception to the rule. The beauty and glory of our Government consists in the accountability of officers, high and low, to a constituency.

The President, sir, "has been weighed in the balance, and found wanting," and no flower of gratitude will ever bloom upon his grave. If "the evil men do live after them," and "the good is oft interred with their bones," how unfortunate for him. In his efforts to read others out of the Democratic party, he has not exactly gotten out himself, for he was never really in it; but he has been the means of the forfeiture of that confidence it may otherwise have continued to bestow upon him. In other words, he has committed political suicide. In his vain endeavors to inscribe his name high upon the roll of fame, he has

written it in sand, and the sporting winds will soon obliterate every vestige of it, except the evil deeds connected with it.

A word or two more, and I have done. Illinois, sir, which seems to be the special object of Executive vengeance, is no pleading, cowering slave at the foot of power. She has a proud record to which she can point. Her history speaks for her. She has never yet strayed off from the Democratic fold. Even in the memorable hard-cider campaign of 1840 she withstood the shock, and was one of the few States who bore her banner upward and onward. She has never yet struck it, and never will. Her Democracy have never quailed before the face of an enemy; and shall their knees smite together in the presence of one in whose hands they helped place the scepter? No, never! Though he is clothed "with a little brief authority" and "plays fantastic tricks before high Heaven," he will find them still "unsubdued rebels." They can neither be silenced into submission by threats or persecution, or bought with office or money. Let the President expend his rage upon them; let him, during his little brief day, continue to lord it over God's freemen. We ask not for his smiles, we defy his malace, we scorn his patronage, and snatch the thunder-bolt from the would-be Jove, and shake it defiantly in his face.

Mr. Chairman, every bane has its antidote. One good will result from the President's abuse of power. It will teach us the necessity of curtailing his patronage, and placing it, as far as possible, in the hands of the people. Already I have introduced a bill to break his grasp upon the Territories, and if I live to reach here at the next session, I shall introduce another providing for the election of postmasters by the people throughout the length and breadth of this land. These monstrous assumptions and usurpations in Washington are becoming dangerous to public liberty, absorbing the rights of the States and the people, and should be checked. Unless we strike down the colossal arms of power here, which are reaching out everywhere all over the Republic for new acquisitions of strength, we may be well alarmed for our safety. Our Government was designed to be plain in its construction and economical in its expenditures, and was created for a few great national objects necessary for the common protection, and not as one grand vortex of centralization, into which all rights were ultimately to flow, and it is well for us to look to it that our liberties are not swallowed up.

Eternal vigilance is the only way in which we can maintain them; and unless we exercise it, the man is now living who will follow their hearse to the grave. However unpleasant the duty, and without reference to who is to be affected by it, the American patriot should speak out, and sound the note of alarm as the advancing column comes in sight. Let the watch cry be—

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great."

I have only to add, Mr. Chairman, that I fully realize the responsibility of the remarks I have made. I know very well what was said, when, some weeks ago, I alluded to the character of the appointees to office in Illinois. I suppose the same, or more, will be said now. But when such things shall induce me to suppress the truth, and fail to discharge my duty as one of the Tribunes of the people, it will be only when I will no longer have the power of speech.

